

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0513

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG POSITION ON THE COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENT

REF: BONN 17937 (DTG 031600Z NOV 75)

1. WITH REGARD TO RUTH'S PROPOSAL OF OCTOBER 31 IN BONN 17937, WE HOPE WASHINGTON AGENCIES WILL CONTINUE TO RESIST FRG EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE WHOLE RANGE OF PHASE II ISSUES IN THE OPTION 3 CONTEXT, THUS ADDING TO NEGOTIATING LOAD OF PHASE I.

2. THE NEW LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY RUTH FOR PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE POSITION PAPER SEEMS TO US TO HAVE THE SAME OPERATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AS THE ORIGINAL WORDING: REJECTING INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENTS SEEMS TO BE THE SAME AS INSISTING THAT REDCUTION

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COMMITMENTS BE COLLECTIVE. WE HAVE POINTED OUT (IN MBFR VIENNA

0285, 0296 AND 0476) THAT IF THE EAST AGREES TO A COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING, THE COMMITMENT TO RESPECT THIS CEILING, RATHER THAN A REDUCTION COMMITMENT, WHETHER INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE, WILL BE THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF THE FRG AND OTHER NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. HENCE, IT IS UNNECESSARY TO INSIST THAT NON-US REDUCTION COMMITMENTS BE COLLECTIVE. BEYOND THIS, IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO DO SO VIS-A-VIS THE EAST IN THE SENSE BOTH OF WESTERN AND SPECIFIC FRG INTERESTS. WESTERN INSISTANCE ON COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS WOULD UNQUESTIONABLY MAKE IT HARDER TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT BOTH TO A COLLECTIVE CEILING AND TO PHASING. FRG OFFICIALS SHOULD REALIZE THIS.

3. THE NEW FRG FORMULATION FOR PARAGRAPH 3 WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IN NEGOTIATING TERMS AND WOULD FULLY PROTECT FRG INTERESTS IF IT CONTAINED THE ADDITIONAL PHRASE AFTER THE WORD "REDUCTIONS," "INDEPENDENT OF CURRENT EASTERN AGREEMENT TO COLLECTIVE CEILINGS." WASHINGTON AGENCIES MAY WISH TO SUGGEST THIS AMENDMENT TO RUTH.

4. SHORT OF THIS, WE BELIEVE IT IS DESIRABLE TO ARGUE TO THE FRG THAT THE ALLIES NOW HAVE AN ADEQUATE ANSWER TO THE PROBLEM RUTH IS RAISING : IT IS LEGITIMATE AND CONVINCING FOR THE ALLIES TO CONTINUE TO REJECT EASTERN EFFORTS TO OBTAIN ADVANCE INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENTS BY TELLING THE EAST THAT THIS IS A MATTER TO BE ESTABLISHED IN PHASE II.

5. FRG OFFICIALS MAY POINT OUT IN THIS CONTEXT THAT. IF PHASE I NEGOTIATIONS ARE SUCCESSFUL, THE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO AGREE ON A SPECIFIC FORMULATION OF THE ALL-PARTICIPANTS COMMITMENT. THIS IS CORRECT, ALTHOUGH IT IS A TASK FOR THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE LANGUAGE NOW BEING USED BY THE ALLIES ON THIS SUBJECT, THAT ALL NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS "WOULD PARTICIPATE IN REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON CEILING," IS ALREADY AN ADEQUATE FORMULATION. IT COULD BE SUBSCRIBED TO EVEN BY INDIVIDUAL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WITHOUT ESTABLISHING ANY OBLIGATION TO INCUR INDIVIDUAL

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REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II.

6. RUTH'S INTERPRETATION OF PARA 34 OF CM 73(83) IS INCORRECT. AS WASHINGTON AGENCIES ARE AWARE, THIS TEXT WAS INTRODUCED BY THE US IN ORDER TO AVOID PREMATURE ARGUMENT AMONG THE ALLIES AS TO THE SIZE OF THEIR OWN PHASE II REDUCTIONS. ITS INCLUSION IN A PAPER WHICH DEALS WITH ALLIED TACTICS DURING PHASE I MAKES ITS SENSE THAT THE ALLIES DURING PHASE I SHOULD NOT INDICATE TO THE EAST THE DISTRI-

BUTION OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS. THIS IS A DECISION WHICH WOULD BE
MADE BY THE ALLIES AFTER PHASE I AND PRIOR TO PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS.
IT
IS DISINGENOUS TO INTERPRET THIS PARAGRAPH AS PRECLUDING INDIVIDUAL
REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II. IN FACT, THE SAME PARAGRAPH
CONTAINS THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK FURTHER
SOVIET REDUCTION IN PHASE II WHICH MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE ALLIES
WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS IN PHASE II THE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL REDUCTIONS
AT LEAST AS FAR AS THEY CONCERN THE SOVIETS.RESOR

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